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made it the cause not only of knowledge, but of the very existence of nature itself. This conception, which has its origin in human society, loses every definite meaning when separated from its relation to society. The Good is not a ground of explanation, it is only a standard of judgment, and this not for external nature, but simply and only for the character and actions of men. The introduction of practical concepts, especially the concept of purpose, into external nature, makes the knowledge of this difficult if not impossible. Nature, or as metaphysicians say, the ground of nature, cannot be thought as equipped with moral qualities, except when uncritical anthropomorphism is given loose rein (pp. 19, 20).

This passage I think pretty exactly defines Huxley's position. Whether it expresses the last word of philosophy on this difficult problem is another question.

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ENERGISM IN THE ORIENT.*

PAUL S. REINSCH.

THE ethical conceptions of oriental peoples are as manifold as their conditions of life; and yet, in the common thought of the western world, the ethical temper of the East is quite different from that of our civilization. When ethical standards are discussed between different nations, it is difficult to avoid misunderstanding because each nation or race, having its own social conventions, which to it have become second nature, sees in the conventions of other peoples compromises with truth, if not a complete departure therefrom. Thus when the East and the West mutually compare their moral beliefs and modes of action, there is apt to be present a lack of sympathetic insight. Yet the ethical thought of India, traced to its simple Aryan sources, inculcates the same cardinal virtues which are contained also in our western codes. Purity, benevolence, and truthfulness are as important there as in our morality. Quite contrary to the common belief in the West, the appreciation of veracity is just as constantly and urgently held up as a fundamental virtue

* From a forthcoming book on "Intellectual Currents in the Far East."

as in our own ethical literature. Nor are the knightly virtues of courage and firmness neglected in these earlier Indian models of conduct.

But as Indian civilization developed in complexity through modifications introduced by conquest and through the growth of the caste system, moral doctrine lost its primitive simplicity. It was divided into parts, many secondary elements were added, and there was a new distribution of emphasis. In the final result the doctrine of renunciation overshadows everything else. Indian ethical sentiment of later ages favors the abdication of life, inaction, and the uncomplaining acceptance of the evils of existence. It is a creed of inactivity, contemplation, quietism, and self-suppression. The repeated conquests of India, the overpowering forces of nature, the absence of national self-consciousness, have all helped to emphasize these characteristics. They are present, not only in Hinduism, but in other forms of beliefs, like Buddhism and Jainism, that have originated in India. But our own generation is witnessing in India a great stirring of social life, the awakening of new national forces. The ancient texts are read from a new point of view and in a different temper, and it is discovered that the morality of non-action and submission is only one part of a complex system, that there are other more active and more manly virtues inculcated as well. It is these latter that now receive the emphasis. The achievements of nationalism in Japan are having their effect; and though Japan may lately have alienated sympathy through her forward policy in Manchuria, the energy revealed in her national life remains a model to the rest of Asia.

The searchings of the national spirit in Indian tradition have promptly brought out the fact that Hindu morality, side by side with *mukti*, or renunciation, contains the ideal of action in *dharma*. While the former has for centuries been emphasized through the repression which history has imposed on India, the more vigorous forces of life have not been extinguished and will now seek new ex-

pression with the help of the principle of *dharma* which is native to Indian thought. This does not mean that the national ideal of renunciation as the highest quality and virtue is to be abandoned. On the contrary, the low valuation of the material universe and the proud belief in the conquering force of spirituality which it contains will remain the essential part of the Indian conception of human destiny and action. But it is also recognized that this idea of renunciation has been falsely understood and grievously misinterpreted in the past; that it has been a cloak for laziness and torpidity under which it has been attempted to make the most pitiful weakness appear as strength. To the present Indian mind, renunciation in its true sense appeals only as a higher form of *dharma*. Before one may reject, one ought to understand; before renouncing, one ought to have experienced; before yielding to the greater, one ought to have mastered the lesser. Thus renunciation, to be more than weakness and self-deception, presupposes a mastery of the world of fact and action, and it requires the power to rise superior to ordinary struggles and ambitions. Through mental energy and understanding of the world only can such mastery be acquired. Renunciation must be strength, not weakness. In the words of Vivekananda, *mukti* is far superior to *dharma*, but *dharma* must be finished first of all. This eloquent writer and preacher, whose thought is one of the most important influences in the awakening of Indian life, has expressed this transition in ethical temper with great effectiveness. In his view, that society is the greatest where the highest truths become practical or embodied in action. Like the Chinese Wang Yang Ming, he was, therefore, a pragmatist before William James. He strives for power and energy; and prays: "Thou Mother of Strength, take away my unmanliness and make me man."

Of all the religious books in India, that which is at present most frequently appealed to and most diligently studied, the "*Bhagavadgita*," is eloquent in inculcating

the morality of action together with the ideal of renunciation. The "Gita" says, "Be more manly; destroy your enemies and enjoy the world. It is for heroes only to enjoy the world. Rise and obtain name and fame by conquering your enemies." As has often been pointed out by Orientals, the Christian nations in active life, far from following the injunctions of their Master as to forbearance and gentleness, seem to be guided rather by the principles of the "Gita." Whereas the Hindus on their part had for a while forgotten these stirring injunctions and had lost themselves entirely in a weak interpretation of the doctrine of *mukti*, without remembering that renunciation cannot begin before power has fully proved and asserted itself.

The "Bhagavadgita" enshrines caste morality. The position of each man in life indicates those virtues in which he must strive to excel. "Better is one's *dharma*, though destitute of merits, than the well-executed *dharma* of another. He who doeth the *karma* laid down by his own nature incurreth no sin." It is the same idea of the relativity of virtues to the position of a man that we find in Plato's "Republic." The special virtues required of the three classic castes of Brahmans, warriors, and landholders, are dwelt on in great detail; all other classes are assigned acts in the nature of service, with a corresponding lowliness and humility of conduct. Vivekananda complains that the august virtues of the higher castes are no longer practised, but that the whole nation has adopted servile ways, singing everywhere without end in weak abandonment: "As the water on the lotus leaf is thin and trembling, so unsteady is the life of man." The heroic, both in action and in renunciation, has become rare. Nietzsche would say that the Indian nation has adopted slave habits and has forgotten its master morality. The "Gita" itself says: "Then I shall destroy all caste distinctions and thus ruin all these people"; and Vivekananda exclaims, "Buddha ruined us as Christ ruined the Romans," laying India's downfall to the aban-

donment of the heroic caste virtues. It is remarkable that a man like Vivekananda, who fought against the artificial restrictions of the caste system, should yet see in this relativity of moral precepts, including the prescription of heroic virtues for the higher classes, the saving principle. But he evidently despairs of raising the vast masses of the Indian population to the plane of energism in morality; he feels that if the leaders of social life in India were inspired by these ideals, it would be sufficient. While abandoning the external accessories of caste, advancing Indian thought is, therefore, inclined to retain some of its essentials. I shall refer again later to this very important fact, which involves a question as to whether a unified morality is possible for the entire human race in the Orient or whether we must accept the principle of relative duties and virtues.

Thus Hinduism is becoming aggressive in the sense of seeing greater virtue in action and being inspired with ideals of positive achievement and progress. In speaking for this ideal in her brilliant little pamphlet on "Aggressive Hinduism," Sister Nivedita shows her grasp of the essentials that make up western national energism. She knows what the historic sense has done for the West and demands that the "history of India, which has yet to be written for the first time, should be humanized, emotionalized, made the trumpet voice and evangel of the races that inhabit India." She also says that Indian life must seek expression in nationalism, must make itself strongly national before it can take its part in the full life of the world. Many Hindus are inclined to believe that political salvation is to be found in the idea of a world state, but in the view of this eloquent writer "only the tree that is firm rooted in its own soil can offer us a perfect crown of leaf and blossom."

But all the writers and thinkers of new India agree that above all they must cherish that national ideal which expresses itself in spirituality. In intellectual and spiritual force they see the highest energy, and so renunciation,

truly interpreted, is, after all, the highest virtue. "Concentration, calmness, and inactivity are the result of centralization of great powers,—calmness is the mother of tremendous energy," these words of Vivekananda express that valuation which sets mental strength high above all mechanical contrivance, which appreciates that by the side of the thought-energy of the human mind everything else is insignificant. This is the greatest paradox in philosophy, that the West, where man first became conscious of his powers, where he learned to master the forces of nature before which the oriental peoples bowed down in awe, should invariably have to yield to the Orient in fully appreciating the intense power of that very human mind and its activity.

It is here that Hinduism and Buddhism converge. In both, spiritual force is most highly valued, most intensely striven after. But as the Buddhist belief swept away the whole fabric of caste distinction and assumed a position of utter unworldliness, it has always seemed to be the religion of renunciation carried to its greatest possible extreme. The concept of unending change is the essence of Buddhism as it is the essence of all oriental thought and poetry; this proves how true, after all, an expression of the real spirit of the Orient is to be found in Buddhism. Where nothing is stable, where all life flows past the beholder like a stream, where all things of beauty fade and all things of force decay, there is no room for anything but that quiet abdication which always has a pessimistic tinge. Now the West has arrived at a similar position in its interpretation of the universe. Both the principle of evolution and the electric theory of matter are not only consonant with Buddhism, but are to a certain extent anticipated by its thought. A realization of this truth will make it plain that in its real and deeper meaning Buddhism is neither nihilistic nor pessimistic; that it is a superficial view to think that Buddhism erects self-annihilation into an ideal, sees no value in action, and preaches the prone acceptance of all evil as inevit-

able. If this were true, Buddhism could never have been a religion of salvation to millions, it would have ceased to exist long ago. It is also a significant fact that the great energist philosopher, Schopenhauer, stands in the closest relationship to Buddhism. He is for this condemned by his dissident pupil, Nietzsche; but if this brilliant aphorist had lived to see the present development of energism in the Orient, he might have looked even upon Buddhism from a different point of view.

As a matter of fact, while Buddhism is a quietist, renouncing, contemplative religion, it after all has its deepest meaning and most striking significance as an appreciation of the energy of the human mind. Nirvana is the ultimate achievement of the complete self-possession and mastery of mind, gained through the application of the most concentrated energy in mental processes through generations. It is significant that it is this side of Buddhism, the side of intellectual energism, which is at the present time most insistently dwelt upon by its ablest devotees, to the confounding of the notion that Buddhism is enervating and reduces to a lower level of life. While these energistic implications have always been present in Buddhism, it is only now that they are being fully appreciated in the oriental world of thought.

The Chinese are far less inclined to abstract speculation and philosophical ideals than are the people of southern Asia. They follow a common-sense morality which is practical in its categorical precepts and judgments. But the traditional temper of the Chinese is also eminently pacific and quietist. The great strength of the Chinese lies in peaceful resistance; without meeting force by force they negate the effects of conquest and oppression in a manner that elicited the deep admiration of Tolstoi. He held up the Chinese as a model to his fellow Russians and called attention to the quiet patience of this vast mass of humanity, to their manner of following the rule 'resist not evil,' in not opposing to injustice harsh and rebellious measures, but in following the quiet and natural

remedy of non-action. The Chinese philosopher whose thought has been most potent in giving form to the quietist ideals of this vast population is Lao-Tze. Often called the Epicurus of China, he does indeed resemble the Greek philosopher in the manner in which he values reason above all things. In his view, compared with reason as working itself out in things and men, self-conscious human energy is of no avail. The sage must accept the course of nature and adapt himself to it by the use and development of his individual reason. "Reason always practises non-assertion, and yet there is nothing that remains undone." While Lao-Tze's ideal of non-assertiveness does not mean inactivity, but the desire to allow things to develop naturally and not to force their growth in an artificial way, such has not been the popular understanding of his thought. The merely passive elements in his philosophy have been unduly emphasized. Virtue and strength have thus been turned into weakness, and at present many Chinese hold Taoism responsible for that inadequacy of national organization and action through which China has suffered numberless disadvantages and humiliations.

To-day we are witnessing the awakening of this vast people to new energies and to a more active conduct of affairs. Peaceful China, the land of non-assertion, is fast becoming military. The ideal of national energy, efficiency, and strength expresses itself in all public utterances. Great sacrifices are made for military preparation, and throughout the provinces even the children in the schools are put into uniforms and trained in soldierly fashion. The old contempt in which the profession of warriors was held in this most rational of countries has passed away, as fresh energies are beginning to stir.

The literary evangel of this new national faith is found in the writings of Wang Yang Ming, the Chinese soldier-philosopher, whose value for present-day needs the Japanese were the first to discover. During the last decade he has become the most widely read author of China.

Wang Yang Ming's practical ethics hinge upon the theory that thought and knowledge are of little value unless translated into action. Adequacy in action is, therefore, a test to be applied to ideas of conduct and of philosophy. Himself a man of affairs as well as a writer, he could express these thoughts in language pulsating with life and stimulating to deeds of valor. Among all native writers, he has contributed the most characteristic element in the present state of Chinese public feeling. This zeal for action expresses itself also in the prevalence of revolutionary sentiments and desires, which go far beyond anything the old philosopher would probably sanction. The ideal that evils are to be borne or at most resisted quietly has largely passed away, and in its place there has arisen the belief that only through positive heroic action can the most serious problems of national life be solved. The words of Wang Yang Ming are like a trumpet call to Modern China.

Japan is the true apostle of energism in the Orient, representing this temper not only in her present life, but also in her traditional practices.¹ She is the one oriental nation in which military feudalism developed in a manner almost entirely parallel to that of Europe. The militant side of feudalism still constituted the essence of her action

¹ In 1910 a leading Japanese review took a vote among prominent men on the question of who are the greatest moral heroes of the world. It is interesting to note that the Hideyoshi and Napoleon tied for first place; after them followed Bismark, Washington, Iyeyasu, and then Luther, Shokatsu Komei, and Lincoln; Cæsar and Gladstone came at the end among the first ten. This will indicate the importance given to military achievement in Japan. In commenting upon this matter, Dr. Inouye Tet-sujiro said that there are only four men who are entitled to be called *seijin*, or great moral heroes: Christ, Socrates, Confucius, and Buddha. All other heroes are of ordinary fiber. Both these classes of heroes are judged by character as a standard, their work must be an outgrowth of their character; both display great strength of will. But the truly great heroes are spiritual in influence, while the others are material. The teachings of the greatest heroes have been turned into weakness by degenerate followers. Therefore, in our age of relentless competition, the military and virile virtues of ordinary heroes are necessary. *Japan Mail*.

and ideals as she emerged into the fullness of modern life. The priest and the philosopher never gained the ascendancy in Japan which they had in the Chinese and Indian systems. Though Japan has accepted and is harboring both Buddhism and Confucianism, she has fused them with her own peculiar forms of thought into a distinctive national unity. Undaunted by the contradictions between these different systems, she has adapted them to her eminently positivist temper, and has molded ideas of conduct in which the development and expression of human energy hold the central place. From the militant ages she has taken over her gentlemanly code, *bushido*, the Way of the Warrior, which inculcates loyalty, generosity, bravery, and other virtues that Plato and the Hindu classics demand of the governing castes. Here the code of the select has not been swamped, as in India, in the resigned and servile misery of the masses. New Japan has, indeed, attempted to extend the sway of traditional moral precepts to all classes of the population, but the problem has not by any means been solved as yet, and it is apparent that a code made for knights in a militant age does not meet all the moral difficulties of a modern industrial society.

The ethics of Japan are notable in that suicide itself is not viewed as resignation, but as the highest and most emphatic expression of personality. Under the code of *bushido*, the feudal knight or dependent felt his duty of loyalty most intensely; should his superior pursue a course of action that seemed ill-advised and dangerous, respectful representations might be made; but if no heed was given to such quiet and polite suggestions, the loyal retainer still had the recourse of taking his own life in order to awaken the conscience and good sense of his master. In this most powerful appeal life itself, with all its energy, was consumed. These tendencies still hold sway in modern Japan; suicide is not merely, or principally, a means of escaping from a situation grown unbearable, but it is the most intense self-assertion, either

as a protest against some great evil, or an appeal intended to bring about important action.

This brief review of the contemporary thought of the eastern world will show how far these ancient nations have gone in turning to a philosophy of action and of energy. The manifestations of this spirit will indeed differ in many ways from similar tendencies in the West because of certain fundamental distinctions that separate external development. Western individualism, with all it implies and involves, is still foreign to the Orient. When we inquire for the root and source of this prominence of the individual personality, of this freedom of development, we have to go to the classicism of Greece and Rome. The classic spirit is the spirit of self-limitation, it implies the power and will to limit both our view of things and our expression, restraining them within a definite orbit and excluding all that is merely curious, or horrible, or insane. Thus liberty is born of self-restraint. As a result of this mutual limitation, individuals become conscious of their differences of character and of that subtle complex which we call personality. At first sight it is strange that it has been exactly this individualistic West that has striven to apply its moral principles to all alike, in other words, that has transfused ethics with democracy. Yet when we remember that personality is the result of self-restraint, this will seem less paradoxical.

In all these matters important differences exist between East and West. We have already seen that as the demand for energetic manifestations of human character and action arises in the Orient, it is prone to appeal to caste instinct and to invoke those codes of behavior which rest upon social selection. This is the deepest problem involved in the present oriental transition: Can a common morality of mankind, applicable to all human beings, enjoin those qualities of character which are demanded by energist ideals? Are we to have democracy or aristocracy in the realm of morals? Of the three principal

countries of Asia, China is most truly the home of democracy. While democracy was not formally recognized as a method of government, the temper of Chinese affairs was such that whatever concerned a community was not settled without its consent; though there also existed a certain social hierarchy. These democratic sentiments prevail even more fully in the present national transition, when the effort is being made to mold the forms of the state in accordance with popular ideals, to go beyond the superficial parliamentarism of Japan and to give the vast empire a system of truly popular institutions. It is, therefore, not surprising that those manifestations of energism which we note in contemporary China assume a thoroughly popular character. Participated in by the masses of Chinese humanity, this tendency will produce movements responsive to ideals that are not exclusive.

It will be of the greatest interest to watch the unfolding of the contrast between aristocratic and democratic forms of morality in the Far East. In India and Japan the question is, Can the energism which the national life requires be developed without recourse to the historic codes of the warrior castes? And if these codes are necessary, is there any way in which the master morality, which they contain, can be transfused into more general social precepts? China, on the other hand, is confronted with the question whether, without the leadership which is so strongly developed in Japan and which is striving for ascendancy in India, the national regeneration can be carried through successfully. If it should become clear that this could not be done, then there may gradually emerge in the morality of China more aristocratic conceptions. Who would have suspected a decade or so ago that the great problem of slave and master morality would so soon be fought out on the vast theater of Asiatic civilizations? Here it is really to be decided whether the world is to have a human, a universal code of ethics.

It is perhaps true that the thinking men of the Orient,

as they compare their own civilization with that of Europe, feel keenly the lack of individualism with its resultant personal energy. Touched with the fire of active ambition, they are seized with the renaissance spirit. They desire that human energy and personality should exert themselves in every possible way. Instinctively they suspect that such a development cannot be hoped for if there is only a mass movement; they therefore turn to those aristocratic codes which the past has developed and hope to get from them that invigoration of human personality which national life requires. If the Orient is to travel the road of democracy in the western sense, it would seem that it could be reached only through the development of individualism, which is often anti-democratic in tendency.

The new temper of the East involves a radical change of attitude toward physical nature; patient submission to nature's force and caprice must make room for ambition of mastery. Altogether the most important intellectual change which the Orient is undergoing is the acquisition of that idea of the rule of natural law which was first developed in the West. Up to very recent times the mystic element has been strongest in oriental life. The Oriental would rather imagine and interpret than understand; he does not long to lift the veil of mystery that shrouds religion and authority. Carrying out the idea of Dostojevski's words, "Russia cannot be understood, she must be believed in," the Orientals are ready to believe in anything that surrounded itself with splendor and the emblems of authority. Moreover, every aspect of life is viewed as an expression of mystic spiritual forces. Spirits are everywhere; the poorest Hindu peasant constantly feels their imminence; in the beliefs of Chinese folk-lore, air and soil are peopled with genii. The Japanese build delicate temples in woodland glades; no human being ever enters them; but many gaze reverently through the latticed windows into the twilight silence within, where abide divinities and ghosts of noble men. The highest

and purest expression of this belief is found in the hero-worship among oriental nations, especially among the people of India and Japan. The great man, the noble character, is held to be a direct impersonation of the divine spirit; and to worship him appears a most natural thought. Thus the Oriental feels himself surrounded on all sides by spiritual forces by whose influences his everyday life is molded and his destiny controlled.

The one important conception which the popular oriental mind lacks is that these mysterious and all-powerful manifestations are themselves governed by a great law. The reign of natural law is not a current thought among the oriental masses, who still live under a tyranny of capricious spirits. The idea of gradual, orderly development, according to a universal rule,—the cosmos of the physical world,—though comprised in their philosophical system, is not familiar to larger numbers as it is in the West. This attitude of the oriental mind toward natural phenomena is due to two causes: in the first place, nature in her manifestations is so overpowering as to awe and suppress the spirit of man and to prevent him from conceiving himself as the central figure, as the ruler and director of all this energy; on the other hand, the philosophical mind of the Orient is so much taken up with the things of the spirit that, while it does construct and develop comprehensive systems of cosmogony and evolution, it does not study natural phenomena in detail and by the experimental method. The development of energism which we have been tracing, however, involves a profound change in the attitude of the oriental mind toward natural phenomena. The field in which human talent and energy has so triumphantly manifested itself in the West will not remain closed to oriental experience. Already the Japanese are taking a high position in the physical sciences, and in India the pressure is enormous to pass from the narrow tutelage of the classics, as taught under the British system, to the splendid vistas of modern scientific achievements. The highest ambitions, the profoundest

sentiments of the Orient are bound up with the desire, now suddenly revealed, to rival the West in scientific mastery, and so the spirit twilight will soon disappear. In a measure, the Orient will repeat the experience of the ancient pagan world, as pictured by Shelley when he speaks of "the hills and seas and streams, dispeopled of their dreams."

But if the Orient is to adopt the philosophy of energism and active life, it does not, after all, follow that it will change its most underlying and essential ideals. It has often been said that if the Japanese have made themselves strong by the adoption of western methods and processes, they have done so in order to be able the more effectively to protect the treasures of their own ideals and civilization. "Make yourself strong so that you may retain the right to be yourself," that seems to be the temper, not only of Japan, but also of China and India; and the self of the Orient is now, and intends to remain, highly spiritual. Mastery over external nature, indeed, attracts as part of the régime of energy or activity, but to the Orient the spirit of man, the mysteries of his psychology, the grandeur of the limitless vistas of development of which the human soul is capable and the heights to which it may attain, are more fascinating than any of the phenomena of external physical nature. It is to Orientals a source of great inspiration and enthusiasm to think that they are called to give to the world, and to perpetuate in it, this noble spirituality. They have come to recognize the merits of the West, its high individual development, its energetic activity, its clean and successful methods, its complex system of machinery; but they also well understand that the human spirit does not always come to its own with all this efficiency and outward success, that machinery kills souls, that mechanism destroys spirituality. When they see the West striving to introduce mechanical ideas into the most sublime realms of thought, standardizing everything upon the basis of computed units of efficiency, they feel that the Orient still has a message

that will be heard. It is from materialism that they hope to bring salvation. The manner is not yet clearly seen; but as the West glories in its efficiency, so does the East draw comfort and confidence from the thought that its spirituality is to be the salvation of the world. This destiny it can fulfill only if its newly aroused energies are directed to the achievement of aims that have a spiritual meaning and value.

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MILTON'S ETHICS.

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IT need hardly be said that Milton never constructed a system of moral philosophy. His English critics have even gone so far as to deny the poet any philosophic ability whatsoever. On this point, however, one may be allowed to prefer the opinion of Taine, himself a systematic thinker of conspicuous ability; and in what seems to me by far the best account of his prose writings that we possess the great French writer repeatedly calls Milton a philosopher. The word is, of course, used in a purely popular sense, nor does it imply any comparison with such masters of pure thought as Hobbes, Spinoza, and Locke. Held in bondage by the traditional theology, he had not the wish, even supposing that he had the power, to construct a metaphysical system; and in any case the whole bent of his genius would have determined him, as a thinker, to deal only with questions of immediate practical interest. And being so practical, his tendency would be rather towards a new application of ancient or admitted principles, than towards any innovation on the principles themselves. But even within such limitations, there is room for philosophy, for comprehensive independent thought; and such speculative originality Milton may claim.